

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 037513 TOSEC 020106
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WHITE HOUSE

S E C R E T STATE 037513 TOSEC 020106

NODIS

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, US

SUBJECT: SOVIET ORAL STATEMENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS

1. FOLLOUING IS TEXT OF ORAL STATEMENT DELIVERED BY
DOBRYNIN TO HARTMAN AT 6:30 PM FEB 17. OUR COMMENTS FOLLOW.

2. BEGIN TEXT.

I AM INSTRUCTED TO BRING THE FOLLOWING TO THE ATTENTION OF
PRESIDENT CARTER AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

THE PLACING BEFORE US BY THE US SIDE OF THE QUESTION OF
RELEASING GINZBURG, A SOVIET CITIZEN BROUGHT TO JUSTICE FOR
ACTIONS CRIMINALLY PUNISHABLE IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR LEGIS-

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LATION, HAS CAUSED EXTREME BEWILDERMENT IN MOSCOW.

THE FACT THAT SUCH INTERFERENCE IN OUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS IS
UNDERTAKEN UNDER THE PRETEXT OF CONCERN FOR "HUMAN RIGHTS"
DOES NOT CHANGE THE SUBSTANCE OF THE MATTER.

OF COURSE, EVERYONE IS FREE TO HAVE ONE'S OWN VIEW OF THINGS

INCLUDING THE QUESTION OF HOW THINGS STAND WITH FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN ONE OR ANOTHER COUNTRY. WE ALSO HAVE OUR INTERPRETATION OF HOW THESE MATTERS STAND IN THE UNITED STATES.

BUT IT IS QUITE A DIFFERENT THING TO EXTEND SUCH VIEWS TO THE SPHERE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES AND THUS TO COMPLICATE THEM. INDEED, ONE CANNOT REGARD OTHERWISE THE POSITION OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE US ADMINISTRATION WHEN THEY TRY TO MAKE QUESTIONS WHICH FALL ENTIRELY WITHIN THE INTERNAL COMPETENCE OF THE SOVIET STATE A SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION. THIS TOUCHES UPON AN ASPECT OF PRINCIPLE IN OUR RELATIONS AND HERE FULL CLARITY IS REQUIRED FROM THE VERY BEGINNING. SUCH A POSITION IS CATEGORICALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO US.

BOTH YOU AND WE REALIZE THAT WE HAVE DIFFERENT IDEOLOGIES AND SOCIO-POLITICAL SYSTEMS. AND, OF COURSE, AS A RESULT WE ARE FAR FROM HAVING A SIMILAR APPROACH TO THIS OR THAT QUESTION.

WE IN THE SOVIET UNION ARE PROUD OF THE FACT THAT THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND OUR SYSTEM NOT ONLY PROCLAIMED BUT ALSO ACTUALLY PROVIDED TO ALL SOVIET PEOPLE THE RIGHT TO WORK, EDUCATION, SOCIAL SECURITY, FREE MEDICAL CARE, LEISURE-AND REALLY GUARANTEE THESE RIGHTS.

AT THE SAME TIME SOVIET LAWS PROTECT OUR PEOPLE AGAINST SUCH ANTISOCIAL PHENOMENA AS WAR PROPAGANDA IN EVERY POSSIBLE FORM, DISSEMINATION OF THE IDEA OF RACIAL INEQUALITY

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AND NATIONAL DISCORD OR ATTEMPTS AT MORAL AND ETHICAL CORRUPTION OF PEOPLE. AND WITH US NO ONE HAS THE RIGHT TO VIOLATE LAWS WHICH ARE EQUALLY OBLIGATORY FOR ALL.

WE DO NOT SEEK TO IMPOSE UPON ANYONE OUR CONCEPT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS, THOUGH MUCH OF WHAT IS HAPPENING THE OTHER SOCIAL SYSTEM SEEMS UNACCEPTABLE TO OUR PEOPLE.

IT IS NOT DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF WE, PROCEEDING FROM OUR MORAL VALUES, BEGAN TO LINK THE DEVELOPMENT OF STATE TO STATE RELATIONS WITH THE US AND OTHER CAPITALIST COUNTRIES WITH PROBLEMS REALLY EXISTING IN THOSE COUNTRIES SUCH AS UNEMPLOYMENT OF MILLIONS, INFRINGEMENT OF THE RIGHTS OF ETHNIC MINORITIES, RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, INEQUALITY OF WOMEN, VIOLATION OF RIGHTS OF CITIZENS BY ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANS OF THE STATE, PERSECUTION OF PERSONS WITH PROGRESSIVE CONVICTIONS ETC.

INCIDENTALLY, IF ONE IS TO SPEAK ABOUT CONCERN OVER HUMAN

RIGHTS, THEN HOW, FOR EXAMPLE, DOES SYSTEMATIC US SUPPORT-
ING FOR DICTATORIAL, ANTIPOPULAR REGIMES APPEAR IN A NUM-
BER OF COUNTRIES WHERE THE MOST BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS AND
FREEDOMS ARE CONSTANTLY AND BRAZENLY TRODDEN ON.

IF WE BEGAN RAISING ALL THESE ISSUES TO THE LEVEL OF OUR
STATE TO STATE RELATIONS THEN, OBVIOUSLY, THERE COULD BE
ONLY ONE RESULT: IT COULD ONLY COMPLICATE ALL RELATIONS
BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES, LEAD US FAR FROM THE SOLUTION OF
ISSUES WHICH REALLY CAN AND MUST BE THE SUBJECT OF INTER-
ACTION AND COOPERATION OF OUR STATES. BESIDES, EFFORTS
TO ENSURE THE RIGHT OF MAN TO LIVE IN A WORLD FREE FROM
WAR AND THE BURDEN, OF THE ARMS RACES UNDER CONDITIONS OF
SECURITY AND FRIENDLY CONTACTS AMONG PEOPLES WOULD ALSO
SUFFER.

THEREFORE WE FIRMLY ADHERE TO THE POSITION THAT MATTERS
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OF INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT, REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN IDEO-
LOGY AND SOCIO-POLITICAL SYSTEMS, SHOULD NOT BE MADE A
SUBJECT OF DEALINGS BETWEEN STATES.

IT IS NOT ACCIDENTAL THAT IT WAS THAT VERY PRINCIPLE,
TOGETHER WITH OTHER FUNDAMENTAL PROVISIONS, THAT WAS
CLEARLY STARTED IN THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF RELATIONS BE-
TWEEN THE USSR AND THE USA, SIGNED IN 1972. IT IS RELE-
VANT TO RECALL ALSO THAT AS FAR BACK AS THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS IN 1933 OUR COUNTRIES COMMITTED
THEMSELVES TO STRICTLY RESPECT THE UNDENIABLE RIGHT OF
EACH OTHER TO ORGANIZE THEIR LIVES AS THEY WISH AND RE-
FRAIN FROM INTERFERENCE IN ANY WAY IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS
OF THE OTHER SIDE.

HOWEVER, THE STATEMENTS AND ACTIONS OF THE US SIDE DO NOT
CORRESPOND WITH THAT ALWAYS OR IN ALL ASPECTS. IN EFFECT
THE STATEMENTS OF "CONCERN" ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE
USSR AMOUNT TO SUPPORT AND DIRECT INCITEMENT OF INDIVIDU-
ALS WHO OPPOSE SOVIET SOCIETY. IT IS NOT THAT THE AD-
MINISTRATION SIMPLY ADOPTS A DEMONSTRATIVELY APPROVING
ATTITUDE TOWARD SOME AMERICAN CORRESPONDENTS IN THE SOVIET
UNION WHO DO NOTHING BUT SEARCH OUT AND PUBLICIZE SO-CALL-
ED "DISSIDENTS". SOME MEMBERS OF THE STAFF OF THE US
EMBASSY IN MOSCOW ARE ALSO DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN SUCH AC-
TIVITIES. WE COULD SAY SPECIFICALLY WHO THEY ARE.

AND WHEN THE SOVIET AUTHORITIES RESORT TO THE MEASURES
WHICH ARE A PREROGATIVE OF ANY STATE WHEN SOVIET CITIZENS
VIOLATE LAWS, THIS IS USED ACTIVELY BY THE US SIDE TO THE
DETRIMENT OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES.

BESIDES, IT IS KNOWN THAT THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE US EMBASSY IN MOSCOW MEET SECRETLY WITH SAKHAROV WHO POSSESSES STATE SECRETS AFFECTING THE DEFENSE OF OUR COUNTRY. THE MOST RECENT OF THESE MEETINGS WAS HELD ON FEBRUARY 8

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AT THE INITIATIVE OF THE EMBASSY. THIS IS AN OUTRAGEOUS

FACT AND NO REFERENCE TO "HUMAN RIGHTS" WILL CONCEAL THAT HERE WE ARE DEALING WITH DIRECT ACTIVITY OF US SPECIAL SERVICES AGAINST THE USSR AND THE SOVIET SOCIAL SYSTEM.

AS FAR AS REFERENCES TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION,

THE MOOD IN CONGRESS ETC. ARE CONCERNED, THERE IS PUBLIC OPINION IN THE USSR TOO WHICH RESOLUTELY REJECTS ANY ATTEMPTS TO IMPOSE UPON US RULES INCONSISTENT WITH THE SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY AND LAW. END TEXT.

3. COMMENT AND RECOMMENDATIONS (PREPARED WITH MARSHALL SHULMAN):

A. WE READ THIS DEMARCHE AS AN INDICATION THAT THE SOVIETS MAY BE APPROACHING THE THRESHOLD WHERE BREZHNEV HIMSELF WOULD FEEL OBLIGED TO TAKE A STAND. THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT PUSHES HIM IN THIS DIRECTION. EVERYTHING CONSIDERED, HOWEVER, IT IS RELATIVELY MILDLY WORDED. IT MAY HAVE BEEN INTENDED AS THE PRELUDE TO SOME PUBLIC STATEMENT OR ACTION ON THE SOVIET SIDE, BUT PUBLICITY ON THE SAKHAROV LETTER MAY ALTER THEIR ORIGINAL INTENTIONS.

B. WE DO NOT BELIEVE ANY IMMEDIATE RESPONSE IS REQUIRED; WE NEED TO WAIT AND SEE WHAT DEVELOPS FURTHER REGARDING SAKHAROV, AND WHETHER FURTHER ACTIONS ARE TAKEN AGAINST GINZBURG AND ORLOV. WE SUGGEST THAT SINCE THE DOCUMENT IS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT, AS WELL AS YOU, IT WOULD BE USEFUL ON YOUR RETURN TO GET TOGETHER WITH THOSE CONCERNED IN THE WHITE HOUSE TO DISCUSS THE PROBLEM AND SEEK TO ARRIVE AT AN AGREED STRATEGY FOR DEALING WITH THESE MATTERS. MARSHALL AND I ARE HAVING A PRELIMINARY TALK WITH ZBIG FRIDAY.

HARTMAN

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